



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# HOWELL COBB PAPERS

---

Edited by  
R. P. BOOOKS, Ph.D.,  
University of Georgia.

---

## HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE.

Washington City, June 6th, 1857.

My dear Wife:

I have at length got a house and I think a good one, and in a healthy location. It is on the same street with Mrs. Clayton in sight of Gen. Cass on one side and Gov. Floyd and Judge Campbell on the other. It is a house belonging to Capt. Montgomery of the Navy and I have to pay eighteen hundred dollars a year rent for it. When your Bro. John was leaving we went through the house together, and he preferred it to any of those I was looking at. It is only a square from the grounds in front of the President's house, where the Jackson statue is, so that the children will be able to make that their play ground in good weather. I have sent the measurement of the parlor and other rooms to your Bro. John for him to buy our furniture in New York. I now expect to have everything ready to give you a welcome into your own home on your arrival.

As I was walking out yesterday, I met the President and he asked if I had got a house. I told him, yes, and the price. Says he, "you are rich, I suppose?" "No," says I, "I am not." "But," he replied, "Mrs. Cobb is, I understand and that is the same thing." "How much," says he, "is her estate." I replied about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. "Well," says he, "why don't you pay that debt of fifteen thousand, that you say you owe?" Don't you think the old Gentlemen is quite curious about such matters? I was strongly inclined to ask him to loan me the money, but we were in rather a good natured mood and I let it pass. I

am to dine to-day with Mrs. Clayton who has promised to have fritters for dinner. I expect to have a good time of it as I have been starving over the hotel fare of Willards.

### PHILIP CLAYTON TO HOWELL COBB

Athens, Ga. August 7th, 1857.

Dear Howell:

In due course of mail, I reached here on Monday evening and found all your family and friends well. The political excitement in Georgia is fast passing away. Judge Thomas<sup>1</sup> and Jack Howard are now the only opposition men inside of the Democratic organization and they have both concluded to vote for Judge Brown for Governor. I have seen them both and conversed with them and while they talk furiously, they are doing no harm. As to Thomas, since he has been delivered by writing his last article signed "Troup," he feels much easier and he will pull in the traces very gently. I think his eyes were opened by receiving from the Know Nothings a proposition to nominate him for Congress in the 8th District. He answered them in such a way that his letter will not come before the public through them. I have seen Judge Brown and conversed with him very freely. He feels the delicacy of his position, some urging him to denounce Mr. Buchanan and others requiring him to endure Walker. He will advocate the policy as enunciated in Linton Stephen's letter and under no circumstances for causes which have transpired abandon the administration or the Democratic party. He will be elected by a very decided majority and my impression is that before the day of election there will be no evidence that there has been any difference of opinion in the Democratic party. He and Hill speak to-morrow at Barbers Spring, which has prevented my going to Greensboro until Monday.

As to the race in this district, the general impression is that Judge Jackson will be elected by a large majority,

---

<sup>1</sup> Judge Thomas W. Thomas, lawyer and editor of Elberton, Ga. Judge Superior Court, 1855-1859.

though John Crawford is not of that opinion; he however, considers his election certain, though the contest will be a close one. Judge Jackson himself is absent and I shall not be able to see him.

One thing I am satisfied of, which I am glad to communicate and that is, that the excitement about Walker has not been gotten up to injure you, but is no doubt an honest spontaneous sentiment that Walker was a traitor and betraying the rights of the South. There may be some men in it who are your enemies, but I am satisfied that it was not intended to strike you and such is the opinion of most of your friends. Judge Thomas, who is the most unreasonable man among them, had no idea of injuring you in any way, besides I think personally he is your friend or he is a great hypocrite and whatever excitement has been produced, he is responsible for. Many things I can tell you better than I can write. You may I think rest satisfied the Georgia Democracy will be found right side up. . . .

### HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR

Washington City, July 10th, 1857.

Dear Col:

The conventions in Ga. have been held and the result is not as satisfactory as I could have wished. Judge Jackson<sup>1</sup> was nominated after a hard struggle. A portion of the up country delegates seceded from the convention, but I don't think it will amount to anything. Baily<sup>2</sup> is nominated in your district, Judge Wright<sup>3</sup> (one of my friends) in the Cherokee and Gartrell<sup>4</sup> in Warner's, the two Stephens<sup>5</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Judge James Jackson, Congressman, 1857-1861.

<sup>2</sup> David J. Bailey, Congressman from Georgia, 1851-1855; defeated for re-election in 1857.

<sup>3</sup> Judge Augustus R. Wright, Congressman from Georgia, 1857-1859.

<sup>4</sup> Lucius J. Gartrell, Congressman from Georgia, 1857-1861.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander H. and his brother Linton. Alexander H. was re-elected, but Linton was defeated by Joshua Hill, the Know-Nothing candidate, by 4,800 votes to 4,525.

their districts, the 1st. and 2nd. not yet heard from. Lumpkin<sup>1</sup> was defeated for Governor. They fought for three days in the convention. Gardener and Lamar's friends generally combined against him. Still he got a majority, but could not get two thirds. Judge Brown of Cherokee was nominated by acclamation upon the report of the committee, after it was found impossible to nominate any of the candidates who were in the fight.

If it had stopped here, it could have been borne with, but the convention denounced Gov. Walker for his course in Kansas and demanded his removal, thus making an issue with the administration. Gov. Walker announced himself in favor of submitting the constitution to the people of Kansas for ratification and he said in his inaugural that the climate of Kansas was not suited to slave labor and for these reasons the Ga. convention demand his removal, although all *the democrats and pro-slavery men in Kansas* are satisfied with him. Upon this point they have gotten up a terrible excitement in Ga, Ala, and Miss., and the indications are that we are to have the fight of 1850 over again. The storm may blow over and I hope it will, but at present it looks angry and threatening. Our friend and kinsman Lucius Lamar, has been nominated for Congress in Miss. He will be elected beyond doubt 'as the democratic majority is large in his district. The prospect therefore is that I shall have some good friends in the next House. . . .

### HOWELL COBB TO HIS WIFE

Washington City, July 11th, 1857.

My dear Wife;

At the time I wrote the letter, to which your last was an answer, I was very much out of humor with the political news from Georgia. I had made up my mind however to

---

<sup>1</sup> John H. Lumpkin. In the Democratic Convention there were five candidates for the nomination for governor. The others were James R. Gardner, Henry Lamar, Judge Hiram Warner, and William H. Stiles. No one being able to secure two-thirds of the votes, a committee was appointed to bring in a nomination. They fixed upon Judge Joseph E. Brown. Brown was subsequently elected over Benj. H. Hill, the Know-Nothing candidate, by 57,631 votes to 46,889.

meet all the issues which might arise with the same spirit and feeling which have heretofore carried me successfully through all ordeals. Now, things look much better. My letters from the state all indicate very clearly that the democrats of Georgia will stand firmly by their principles. I never have and never can lose confidence in the masses of the people. Too often have I seen the evidence of their sterling good sense ever to lose confidence in their ultimate decision. The storm that was gathering a few days ago, will pass over without seriously disturbing the peace and quiet of the country. This is the present appearance of things, but whatever may come, I shall stand firm by my principles and let consequences take care of themselves. .

ISAAC H. STURGEON TO HOWELL COBB.

St. Louis, [Mo.] May 17th, 1858.

Dear Sir:

I came in possession yesterday of the following information, viz., that Stephen A. Douglass had sent for F. P. Blair, Jr., and had an interview with him in which he stated to Blair (as Blair states in a letter to a friend in this City) that whatever construction others might put on his course between this and 1860 he wished to let him know that he intended to be with the Black Republicans in 1860 and that then he and Blair would be together.

This letter from Blair was seen under such circumstances that it cannot be referred to. Under your leave I shall be in Washington about two days about the 10th of June and will tell you all about the letter I can. I thought it due you and the president to let you know of this intended treason.

As I understand it, he intends to try to keep in contact with our party until the canvass opens for 1860, so that he can do us the more harm.

He is a black-hearted traitor and would destroy his Gov't if it would only elevate S. A. Douglass. I should prefer nothing said of this in the papers till I see you.

## JAMES JACKSON TO HOWELL COBB

Athens, Ga., July 14th, 1858.

Dear Gov[ernor]:

. . . . I found the Federal Union all right. Joe Nisbet is as good a friend as the Administration has in Ga. He will do anything you want I think. I hope you paid Benton some attention in Washington. He has gone North.

I look upon the Constitutionalist as dead out against the Administration and yourself. I judge alone from its public course. It published Wright's speech, with a wishy washy comment. It then gave the Administration Democrats in Illinois, and incidentally the Administration, a side blow, and now to cap the climax it publishes anonymous communications against your slave trade letter. I am afraid Stephen's finger is in that pie. I am almost prepared to advise you to take the government patronage from it. At all events, it ought to be attacked. It is against both the State and Federal Administrations, and I would advise if it meets your approbation an attack on it in the Federal Union. I would ask, is it a Democratic paper? It is doing all it can to get up an opposition to Brown and Buchanan. I saw Brown in Milledgeville and I can tell you *he knows what is about*. It is our interest to sustain him. They may say what they please, but the Bank question and the State Road will make him popular, and he is so now.

Anyhow, the propriety of the Federal Union linking the attacks of the Constitutionalist upon him with its attacks upon the Administration at Washington, both covert but both ill-concealed, is unquestionable; *and it ought to be done*. If you think so, write a confidential letter to Nisbet, or if you prefer it, write to me and I will write to Nisbet. I think you may *trust* him. I would allude in the attack upon the Constitutionalist to his recent conversion to Democracy in a delicate way, and tell him he had better get comfortable in his new seat before he sets himself up as censor of the State and National Democratic Administrations. . . .

## JOHN E. WARD TO HOWELL COBB.

Milledgeville, Ga., Nov. 1, 1858.

My dear Gov[ernor]:

Judge Jackson is here and will speak tomorrow night. I have no doubt he will make a fine impression. I have employed a stenographer to report his speech and after he has corrected it, I will have it published in the Federal Union and sent to you. I have no doubt, it will deserve a place in the Washington Union. If there are any Douglass men [in] the Legislature, they do not avow it. There is a very strong combination for mischief formed. Warner for the Senate, McDonald to go into the next Cabinet, Brown for Governor; to the last, opposition would be useless, but when elected his influence will be given to those men. Their candidate for President is Breckenridge, and a strong effort will be made to send a delegation from this state to Charleston for him. I have seen a gentleman who saw a letter from Douglass to a member of Congress from Tennessee in which he says, that "He (Douglass) had committed himself to the submission of the Kansas constitution to the people when he believed the Administration was about to destroy the South; that his impression was that Walker was retained to have an *anti-slavery* constitution framed by the Convention, and that he then took the ground from which he could not subsequently recede, that it must be submitted to the people; that he will go to the Senate ready to support all the interests of the South and will convince them that he has been ever true to their rights." I have no doubt he will take ultra Southern ground. We have now a very annoying question before the legislature, a bill introduced by Atkinson sent by McDonald and Warner to repeal the clause in the constitution forbidding the African Slave Trade with Georgia. This clause was inserted because under the constitution of the United States, Congress could not forbid it before 1808, in 1797. The framers of our constitution unwilling to wait until 1808 forbade it at once. Now that there is a law of Congress against the slave trade, this clause in our



constitution is unnecessary. This is the argument used and it is said it only serves now as a reflection upon the institution of slavery. The real object of the introducing is to make way for the passage of a law authorizing the introduction of Africans and thus bring the state in direct conflict with the General Government, but with the existing sensitiveness upon the subject of slavery, men are afraid of having it said they are opposed to slavery and thus afraid to meet the question. I send you an article from the Bainbridge *Argus* to show how the old Southern rights feeling still holds on.

JAMES JACKSON TO HOWELL COBB.

Athens, Ga., May 30th, [1859?].

Dear Gov[ernor]:

Your letter was received yesterday and I reply to-day. I shall be at the Convention but am afraid they may whip us in the fight, if it is made. If they do, we will make a record. Toombs and Stephens were here at the Supreme Court and I had a short talk with them, brought about by Stephens asking me what I was for doing at the Convention. I told him I was against putting new planks in the platform, particularly about the Slave trade, and besides desired the Administration to be sustained on your account particularly. He said he thought the Cincinnati platform sufficient and had no objections to any resolutions sustaining the administration *if they would not hurt*. I asked him how they could be framed so as not to hurt. I told him I was not particular about language, but wanted the usual resolutions of confidence. Toombs then said the Administration ought not to be ignored, but that all its acts could not be endorsed, because we were not united; some things he approved (alluding to specific duties, I suppose) which others of us did not, but he thought a resolution expressive of confidence in the ability, integrity and patriotism of the

Administration ought to be passed.<sup>1</sup> Stephens said nothing more. I was to have seen him again but did not, as he left before the Court adjourned. My object in writing this to you is to suggest that you write to Toombs urging him to go to the Convention. I think he will go, if you ask it as a personal kindness, and in the event of a row, he will be of great service. I haven't a doubt his heart is with you. As to little Aleck I say nothing. I will try and have the 6th represented, and will write to Morris to go if possible. I saw Jeff Lamar and told him my interview with Toombs and Stephens. He will act cordially with us. . . .

By the way, the *Press* at Macon has an article containing a letter from old Buck<sup>2</sup> to McLane as bad as the message about schooling the negroes. Let me know the truth about it. The letter, is it genuine? and what is the whole truth about the business, for it looks bad and grows worse, and we may have to fight it in the Convention. Thompson Allan's last piece which Sledge has showed me in manuscript is a good one especially the Iverson part. . . . Don't you think such a resolution as Toombs suggests all sufficient. I think so rather than make a fight.

Let me hear from you.

A. F. OWEN<sup>3</sup> TO HOWELL COBB.

Talbotton, Ga., June 9th, 1859.

Dear Cobb:

On my return from Upson court this morning I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 5th inst.

I am not a member of the Convention but I think it will be agreeable to some one of [the] delegates for me to serve in his place. Had it been supposed that I would like to be in the Convention, I should have been appointed. At any rate I shall go to Milledgeville and it will afford me great pleas-

<sup>1</sup> The State Democratic Convention was held on June 15th. In spite of opposition, Buchanan's administration was endorsed, though only as to its "integrity and patriotism."

<sup>2</sup> President Buchanan.

<sup>3</sup> Congressman from Georgia, 1849-1851.

ure to comply with your wishes as far as lies in my power. I hope the convention will not do you the injustice of pursuing the course you seem to think they may pursue.

You may rest assured that I shall always feel a pleasure in your prosperity; and [you] have few friends who would derive a higher gratification than myself in seeing you in the first position in the Republic.

T. R. R. COBB TO HOWELL COBB.

Jefferson, Ga., Aug. 24, 1859.

Dear Brother:

I am just from Crawfordville and hasten to write to you the results of my interview with Col. T[oombs.] The Despatch of the special Correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald* about your visit to Ga. gave me an easy avenue to the subject and I have confidently inquired of him, Mr. Stephens's feelings toward your nomination, saying that I had been told by several that he (Stephens) was hostile to it. His reply was, "It is a great mistake. Mr. S[tephens] and I have talked this matter over frequently, and he *agrees fully with me* that Mr. C[obb] is the best man in the nation for the office." He continued at some length in this strain and said it was not only desirable that the Delegation to Charleston should be favorable to you, but that any other would be unworthy the state or some such expression. I took pains to impress on him that you were *no candidate*, but that your friends did feel anxious, in the event your name was suggested at Charleston as the most available candidate, that no objection or obstacle should arise in the Delegation from your own state and that it was with this view alone that we felt anxious as to their appointment. He suggested to me that Delegates should not be appointed by the members of the Legislature but that it would be best for you to have a convention specially for that purpose and assured me that so far from interfering he believed Mr. S[tephens] would be in your favor. I have given you the substance of his re-

marks. I confess I am incredulous as to Stephens, but I am satisfied Toombs was candid and sincere. And I have no doubt that when you see him in Washington you can make him your zealous friend. He is openly opposed to the reopening of the Slave Trade, but thinks the law declaring it Piracy is unconstitutional and should be repealed. His views on this point are forcible.

I write to you in great haste and cannot enlarge, now. The feeling in this state upon this Slave Trade is working very favorably for you. Nine tenths of our people are opposed to it. Old friends of Stephens are open in their disapproval of his position. Ferdy Phinizy of Augusta, who was opposed to you, told me that you were the man for the nomination and that you were gaining ground every day on that question. I hear this in many quarters. . . .

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, Nov. 19, 1859.

Dear Col:

. . . . The future of the country looks badly. I never felt less hopeful in my life. All the indications point to a fearful crisis on the slavery question. The North seems determined to force upon us the issue of submission to Sewardism or disunion. I regret to say that the conviction is now forced upon me, that the days of the Union are numbered. It is to my mind a fearful thought, but it is preferable to dishonor and degradation and ultimate ruin. It will not in my judgment be many months before the price of property in the South will begin to show the state of things to which I allude. I write this, as my unwilling convictions and [trust they will] not have any more effect upon your own mind than they are entitled to.

O. H. PRINCE<sup>1</sup> TO MRS. HOWELL COBB.

Connasena, Dec. 4th, 1859.

My dear Mrs. Cobb:

. . . . I am very sure that the tide is changing to

---

<sup>1</sup> Son of former U. S. Senator O. H. Prince, of Athens, Ga., and a close personal friend of Cobb's.

Mr. Cobb's side. I notice one communication in the "Daily Federal Union" speaking of him as unquestionably the choice of the State and that whenever or however the State Convention may be held he will be supported. I notice also an editorial in the "Constitutionalist" in which the editor acquiesces in his nomination, he says "We are in favor of the nomination of a Southern man at Charleston and before all other Southern men a Georgian. Gov. Cobb will probably be the only Georgian before the Charleston Convention as a candidate for its nomination and if he receives that high honor, we shall not only be content, but delighted. We believe that our position in reference to Gov. Cobb, as we have just stated it, is that of nine tenths of the Democracy of the State. They are content that a delegation should be sent to Charleston favorable to his nomination, and will be delighted if he is the nominee."

My interpretation of the above is not that the paper really favors or even acquiesces in Mr. Cobb's nomination, but seeing that the tide now sets in his favor yields a reluctant assent and is shifting with the current. It is a mighty good sign and augurs better for Mr. Cobb than any symptom I have yet seen.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. HOOD TO HOWELL COBB

Cuthbert, Ga., Jany. 13, 1860.

Dear Gov [ernor]:

Have you fully considered and advised with your friends as to the proper course to pursue in the March Convention?

I am now satisfied the intention is to send a Stephens Delegation from that Convention, and from present indications it will likely be held. I am fearful in those counties where your friends have the majority—they will permit the

<sup>1</sup> A factional fight among the Democrats occurred over the control of the delegation to the Charleston Convention of 1860. Cobb was expected to be put before the Charleston Convention as the choice of the Georgia Democracy. His faction, controlling the Democratic Executive Committee, announced a convention to be held in March, 1860. The anti-Cobb faction, acting through a Committee of the Legislature, called a convention to meet in Milledgeville on December 8, 1859. Cobb's friends got control of the December convention and delegates favoring his nomination were appointed.

minority to meet and send Delegates. If so, it will give the Convention importance it does not deserve. How is the matter to be met?

I have been appointed a Delegate to the Convention from my county, but I cannot go. Will you give me your views at length.

I am satisfied there is an entire and cordial harmony of action between Douglass and Toombs and Stephens which will if not properly met result in the nomination of either Douglass or Stephens.

Could you not by a letter make yourself stronger at the South without hurting you North? If you have time, write me.

MARK JOHNSTON<sup>1</sup> TO O. H. PRINCE.

Cartersville, Ga., March 28, 1860.

My dear Oliver:

I was very closely detained, at Court, all last week, received my mail very irregularly, consequently did not get your kind favor until the last of the week. On Sunday I was sent for in haste to visit a dying relative, at Cedartown and have just returned. This will account for my delay in acknowledging the receipt of your letter. By this time you have become "posted," in regard to that miserable affair at Milledgeville,<sup>2</sup> and I need say but little in regard to it; suffice to say, that Mr. Cobb was most shamefully hunted down by violent personal enemies and Douglas men. I have much to say to you and am very desirous of seeing you. I very much regret I could not see Col. Jackson, as I fear he has come and gone. If he is still with you, can not you and he come down and visit me, at my father's, with whom I am now compelled to remain most of the time, as my sister, who keeps house for him, is visiting her sick children. This too has prevented and will for a month probably pre-

<sup>1</sup> A well-known educator. Delegate to the Charleston Convention of 1860.

<sup>2</sup> The convention called by the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party (See footnote to letter of O. H. Prince, *supra*, p. 221) met in Milledgeville early in March. The public generally expected the convention to ratify the proceedings of the December convention, but Cobb's opponents, led by A. H. Stephens, succeeded in defeating such action, and a new delegation was appointed, of whom only 17 of the 40 were Cobb men.

vent Mrs. Johnston and me from visiting you and Mrs. Prince. We very much regret this, but you know father is quite infirm and we cannot leave him until sister returns. I want to see you and Co. Jackson very much in relation to Mr. Cobb's prospects. I think he ought to permit his name to go before the Charleston Convention, for he has a large majority of the two delegations appointed, and it is known and acknowledged by all, that he is the choice of the *Democracy* of Georgia. Should he not, however, or should he, and be defeated, I am anxious that he should run for U. S. Senator, at the approaching session. I think though his *true and reliable* friends should consult in this matter. There are so many infernal traitors, that one *knows* hardly whom to trust. I feel so indignant and so outraged at the villainous manner in which he has been treated that I want to bend all the energies of my soul to see him vindicated. Think of all this and we will talk it over when I see you. Write immediately if Col. Jackson is still with you. If you and he can't come down, I will try and run up for a few hours anyway. Col. Lamar told me to tell you, he would probably be up in April. Don't fail to advise me when he comes, for he must come to see me. My wife is with me and joins me in kind regards to you all and Col. Jackson, if he is with you.

#### HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, April 8, 1860.

Dear Col.:

I was much gratified to find from your letter this morning that you thought my letter to Irwin had produced a good effect. My friends write me from other quarters to the same effect.

As you ask me who I am for, I fear that you did not receive a letter of some length in which I wrote you my views on that point, and also wrote you about moving to Macon.

Though I am now writing very hastily and with company (as it is Sunday) I will repeat briefly. 1st. I think we ought to go for Hunter, as he will unite the South, and he is *my friend*, and besides if elected will make a good president. I have no objection to Jeff Davis. Our policy should be to go with the South for some [illegible] candidate, putting our faces sternly against all tied out nags. The article in the Federal Union in favor of Hunter is pretty much an extract of a letter I wrote them. If I had time I would write fully, but I am sure you will see at a glance the policy of this programme. If we cannot get Hunter or Jeff Davis, then let us go to the North for a candidate and take old Joe Lane. I don't think we ought under any circumstances to support Douglass, though it is hardly necessary to say so, as he has no earthly chance for a nomination.

JNO. H. LUMPKIN TO HOWELL COBB.

Rome, Ga., May 8th, 1860.

Dear Cobb:

You have heard of all that transpired at Charleston. I left as soon as the Rump Convention adjourned over to meet at Baltimore on the 18th. of June, and requested the States not represented to appoint delegates to meet them at that place. My advice to the withdrawing states was that inasmuch as they had [not] nominated Douglass or any other objectionable man, was that they too also make no recommendation of candidates for President and for Vice-President, but adjourn also and refer the whole question back to the Democratic party of the several withdrawing states, and let them act for themselves. In fact the Georgia delegation had instructed their Chairman Judge Benning to write and publish an address to the Democratic party of Georgia, giving them the reasons for our course, and asking that a convention of the party might be called by the Executive Committee to meet at Milledgeville on the



first of June, and if a majority of the party chose to be represented in Baltimore, either with or without ratifying our conduct that they might have the right to do so. And I left the convention under the impression that this was to be our program. But on reaching home I saw that after I left that Col. H. R. Jackson offered in the Southern Convention a resolution which was adopted, that the States opposed to Douglas and Squatter Sovereignty, be asked to send delegates to meet at Richmond on the 2nd. Monday in June. This position assumes that we are now divided and can never act together again, and if this be true, I am prepared for it, and will go with them. But I had supposed that the people would more readily have concurred in this view after the final adjournment of the Convention at Baltimore. I addressed the people of this city on Saturday night, and I was met by men of all parties, and the approval of my course was most cordial and enthusiastic, and since the meeting I have conferred with men of all parties, and with men in the town and counties, and with the exception of Judge Wright and his son-in-law, F. C. Shropshire, I have yet to see a man who was opposed to our withdrawal. Judge Wright had Mr. A. H. Stephens as his guest a few days ago, and he was openly in favor of Douglass's nomination, and he invited several of our prominent citizens to dine with Mr. Stephens, and several who were present have been charged with sympathy with him and Douglass; our friend Jas Spurlock it is said is of the number. But he was absent on my return home at Savannah, and I have not seen him. Our mutual friend, Wm. A. Fort, was charged with agreeing with Mr. Stephens, but he denies it most firmly. Col. Printup regrets that we separated from the Northern Democrats, and thinks that we ought to meet them again at Baltimore, and make another effort to stand together on a national platform.

This leaves my family in the enjoyment of health. Mrs. L. unites with me in kind regards and love to Mrs. C. and yourself.

## HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, July 1, 1860.

Dear Col[onel]:

The indications are that the Douglas and Johnson men intend to fight hard for life in Georgia. Our friends should not underestimate their strength, though I think with proper effort on our part, it will not amount to much. The principal battle ground will be the 7th. and 8th. Districts. It is understood that Stephens will enter warmly into the canvass, and with the aid of the Constitutionalist will give us work to do in his section. Smythe will start his new paper at once and I have agreed to let him have five hundred dollars. Don't be alarmed at this demand, but I felt that it was too important a movement to let it pass. He said to me, that the paper could not be started without he could get a thousand dollars, and I agreed to furnish half.

The Macon *Telegraph* has put one foot in, and the question is will it take back or go on? "Bob" in the *Telegraph*, smoked (?) Johnson in advance, and it would be well to remind his friends that he was caught before he got the nomination.

Can you carry out your programme of going to the Legislature? I now think that we can carry the Senatorial election with a little effort, though it should not be mooted at present. Before Toombs left here he voluntarily tendered me his cordial support and promised to see exactly how the members from his dis[trict] stood. I don't wish you to trouble yourself too much about it, but your presence in the Legislature would tell powerfully upon the result.

## J. M. SPURLOCK TO HOWELL COBB.

Rome, Ga., August 7, 1860.

Dear Sir:

I am gratified to see you have given us a visit to Ga., although I cannot think there is the least danger but that

we will carry Ga. easy for Breckinridge and Lane, but it is I think proper that you should mix with the people of your own State at this time. I would come to Atlanta to see you but for other engagements. I must try and see you before you leave for Washington. Please let me know when I would most likely see you; if you return by the Virginia route, by the way of Lynchburg I will meet you at Kingston. I wrote you two letters but suppose you had not received them before leaving Washington. Everything is all right in this section. I want to see you upon two points, the most important is the Senatorial Election next winter; in my judgement if your friends will act discreetly we can elect you. I fully understand the programme that is now being laid to get up a controversy between yourself and Judge Iverson. A certain individual is figuring to get up the controversy, and be the beneficiary. In my judgement you can be elected, and I am exceedingly desirous that you should be. I also want to talk with you about my private matters in the way of some compensation for these African slave cases. I think we can fall upon some plan to arrange the matter satisfactorily from what I learn from Mr. Toombs and Underwood. I am very anxious to have an interview with [you] upon politics before you leave; if you see any chance for me to meet you let me know.

HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, Sept. 27, 1860.

Dear Col[onel]:

. . . Our news from the South continues to be of the most favorable character, and I now believe we shall carry every Southern state.

I see that the Breckinridge men are inclined to kick against the fusion ticket in New York. This will never do as it will fasten upon the Breckinridge men, the charge we have made against Douglass of preventing fusion and thereby helping Lincoln. As to New York I have no hope of carrying it, but much good will be done in Pa., New Jersey

and other states by a fusion in New York. It has the effect of inspiring hope where we have a chance of success. I think we shall carry Pa. and New Jersey and thus defeat Lincoln. . . . .

O. H. PRINCE TO MRS. HOWELL COBB.

Connasena, [Ga.,] March 31, 1860.

My dear Mrs. Cobb:

Sarah went down to the Howard's with the children on yesterday and among other items of news brought a message from Mr. Howard to me that Mr. Cobb had just written a letter declining to have his name presented to the Charleston Convention. Mr. H[oward] sent word that it is an admirable letter and I very much regret that he did not send it to me.

I write this to congratulate Mr. Cobb on his position. He is on the right track now sure and if the letter referred to is such a one as I hope and believe it is, he is stronger now, not only in Georgia but the whole South than he ever was before, and that Georgia will go for him to a unit. In fact, I believe that public opinion will force him to modify his decision, and that the delegation from this State will have to stand square up to him or misrepresent the feeling of the people and sink themselves eternally. I am no prophet or son of a prophet, but I give this my opinion for what it is worth. I only hope that Mr. C[obb] will not commit himself too fully to the determination of withdrawal, until he sees how the cat jumps at home since the publication of his letter. What I mean is this, Mr. Cobb withdraws for the sake of unity and harmony in the party and under the belief that the delegates are divided and will not support him unanimously at Charleston. Let this be ascertained beyond a doubt before he commits himself irrevocably, for I believe that the delegation will be forced to support him and that to a man, when it is ascertain that his name may be presented on those terms.

I notice the "Cassville Standard" comes out hot and heavy against the Convention and in support of Mr. Cobb. I will send the paper if I can find it before I close my letter, although I presume you will have seen it before this reaches you.

I wrote to Mr. Lamar today and told him that Mr. Cobb had high, low, Jack and the game, in his hands so far as his own state is concerned and although there is a good deal of cheating around the board there is no danger, if he will keep a sharp lookout, play a bold game and lead trumps from the start. I told him if Mr. Cobb would only allow me to arrange his programme for the next 12 months, I would make a man of him. However, you know the text, "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country," and I cannot expect to be an exception.

The following clipping from the Cassville, Ga., *Standard*, of March 29, 1860, was enclosed in the above letter:

#### THE LATE STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

We have carefully perused the proceedings of the late Milledgeville Convention, and must say that those proceedings are to us, not only extraordinary, but altogether incomprehensible. Will not some of our cotemporaries of the press, many of whom we noticed participated in the deliberations, (if proceedings characterized by so much heat and violence can in any proper sense be denominated *deliberations*) give us the direct history of that Convention, by which we may unravel the mystery, and understand how it was that the Hon. Howell Cobb, so clearly and justly the favorite of the Democracy of this State, after having been by the December Convention declared the choice of Georgia for the Presidency, should have been so completely and designedly overthrown; when, too, there was a reported majority of the friends of Mr. Cobb present, a fact which their ability to control the organization and elect their own officers, places beyond question? Why was it, we ask, that he was so cruelly slaughtered, and that in the house of his friends? There is but one solution of the matter at which

we can arrive. Mr. Cobb was overthrown, *thrust out*, because he stood in the way of some other aspirant for the position in our own State. So great an indignity could never have been inflicted upon one of Georgia's own sons to advance the prospects of any candidate beyond the State, as such a step would have been not only unnatural, but unnecessary. The delegates in such an event might have sustained the fortunes of Mr. Cobb so long as there was any prospects of success, and then when all hope was lost, there would have been ample opportunity to wield to a foreign favorite their support.

But the presentation of Mr. Cobb's name by the delegation from Georgia as the choice of this State for the Presidency, would have injured most seriously,—nay, destroyed—the prospects of any other aspirant from our own State, and hence it was his sacrifice was decreed. There is no other, there can be no other solution of the matter.

This fact settled, the only remaining question is, who or what other aspirants for the Presidency were there in Georgia? There is and has been but one other individual whose name has been prominently raised in Georgia in connection with that exalted station, and that is the name of the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens. Let it not be said that Mr. Stephens "was no aspirant," "did not seek," "would not accept the position." Such chaff may answer to stuff young gulls, it can deceive no sane man for a minute. Why have his friends for a year past been so zealously and actively at work? Leading politicians, plastering him with adulation in their letters, newspapers raising his name for the Presidency at their mast head, and defending through their columns every act of his public life? Why has all this been permitted to proceed, when a half dozen words from him could, at any time, have rendered all as silent as the grave? But throwing these evidences aside, what further proof do we need than the very debates, action and result of the Convention itself? Was not the question of preference between these distinguished Georgians there most distinctly raised? Did their action not result in the selection of the newly

appointed delegates from Mr. Stephen's friends, those who had either expressed their preference for him upon the floor, or who had previously published letters in his behalf?

But we have not yet reached the mystery. All this is clear—transparent as the noon-day sun. "He who runs may read." But the mystery we desire our cotemporaries to dispel is, how and why it is that Alexander Hamilton Stephens is a greater favorite with the Democracy of Georgia than Howell Cobb? Is he in the ranks of the Democracy *older or a better soldier*? Mr. Cobb has been a Democrat, true and unwavering all his life. Can that be said of Mr. Stephens? What is the date of Mr. Stephens' Democracy? How long has it been since he ceased to utter his denunciations against the party? Is he a Democrat today? Put the question to him and you will perhaps receive the answer he is said to have already given, "I am only acting with the Democratic Party." Is he a better soldier? Mr. Stephens is a man of decided ability; as a Georgian, we feel proud of him, but has he any more ability than Mr. Cobb? He has been tried but in one position, as a representative of our State in Congress; he has acquitted himself with distinguished honor, but was he in this sphere the superior of Mr. Cobb? Mr. Cobb was certainly selected before him to fill the highest position in the House. Has not Mr. Cobb been found fully equal to the various other and exalted stations to which he has been called, and in which Mr. Stephens is as yet untried? But the old Southern Rights wing of the Democracy, it is said, do not like Howell Cobb. Have they any reason to love Alexander H. Stephens more? If Mr. Cobb supported the Compromise measures of 1850, did not Mr. Stephens do the same? If Mr. Cobb was the instrument of the Southern Rights defeat in 1851, did not Mr. Stephens aid him to the full extent of his ability to achieve that triumph? Is Mr. Stephens any more of a Southern Rights man today than Howell Cobb? It will not be pretended.

We know not what may be the opinions of others, but this we say for ourselves, we are willing to consider all as

Democrats, whether they have entered the vineyard at the "second," or even not until the "eleventh hour," we are willing to give the preference to real ability and merit, come from which wing of the party it may, but other things being equal, we prefer today, and shall prefer always, the man who not only is, but ever has been a Democrat.

JOHN B. LAMAR TO JOHN A. COBB.

New York, Oct. 2, 1860.

Dear John A,

. . . . The fusion in New York came too late. The divisions among the Democrats gave the Black Republicans an impetus, that will carry them to victory. Everything depends on the Gov's election in Pa; if Foster is elected it will inspire the Democrats with hope and they may succeed in Pa. and N. J. in Novr. But Douglas and his friends are doing their best to cause a failure. It seems to me that every man at the South of any prominence, who supports Douglas, in this canvass, will call for rocks and mountains to hide him from the scorn of the people hereafter. His object (Douglas's) is transparent—it is vengeance at any cost—with the delusive hope of rallying and keeping up a party for his future uses. He may succeed in the first by the aid of Johnson, Stephens and others, but as to the latter, he will be disappointed. . . . .

ALEX T. STEWART<sup>1</sup> TO MRS. HOWELL COBB.

Broadway C. Chambers, [New York.,]

October 23rd, 1860.

Dear Madam:

Enclosed please find receipt for the draft of \$59 remitted in yours received by mail today.

I have just performed the duty of making a subscription in aid of the Union electoral ticket, and shall give it my in-

---

<sup>1</sup> A great dry goods merchant of New York.



fluence, but I declare to you that I have no confidence that it can succeed.

As far as I am able to judge the supremacy of the Republican party in this State will be continued, not on the strength of any hostility to the section of the Union from which you come, but mainly from very grave errors in policy committed by the Democratic party, by which, the sceptre may be transferred to those who have availed of these errors wholly from the love of power.

It will be a great mistake to attribute any more than this to the action of this State in November and however painful the infliction, we must submit, as it is a constitutional exercise of the power of a majority.

If the errors I speak of had not been committed, the National men with whom I have been in the habit of acting would have continued in command of the country.

Pardon me if I disagree with you in your estimate of the danger. The calamity of disunion, not less a calamity to yourselves than to us, is not to be thought of for any such cause, and will not be tolerated by the sober second thought of either section, for if any attempt to injure the South be made, of any description, the North will instantly punish the offender and show their regard for the compromises of the Constitution and your interests safety and honor.

Sincerely hoping that the election may result in the success of a friend in whom you will have confidence, and that you will long enjoy happiness from the character of the National administration of affairs, I am very truly and with my best regards to Mr. Cobb

O. H. PRINCE TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Connasena, Ga., Oct. 26, 1860.

My dear Mr. Lamar:

Yours of the 16th. is at hand, in fact it has been received a week and I have postponed writing until I thought you would be back from Sumter. I received a letter from Charley

Lamar the other day in which he says, "If I can I will be in Milledgeville and will do anything I can for Mr. Cobb."

I sent a letter by John Addison<sup>1</sup> to Phil Tracy, but have not heard from him. I wished Phil to reserve me a part of his bed and hope he will do it. If you see him mention it to him or get John Addison to do it. I wrote to him about it. If Phil will not or cannot, I will probably find it hard work to get lodging. I may have to run down to Sav[annah] to bring Charley up and therefore will reach Milledgeville on the opening of the session. I will try and be in Macon by Wednesday 31st. or Thursday 1st. of Nov. The session opens you know on the 6th., and that will give me ample time, and I can go to Sav[annah] and capture Charley if you think best.

I have not been idle since my return and trust that I have been the means of aiding Mr. Cobb to some extent. I got a letter from him on yesterday written in reply to one from me requesting a contradiction to a report his opponents have put in circulation here that he has made a combination with Gov. Brown for the Senatorship. He replies that "it is utterly, wholly and maliciously *false*—such an idea was never suggested to me and if it had I should have spurned it as a personal insult, etc." I wrote to him also about Col. Rudler and will print the extract from his letter (about Rudler) in the Cartersville *Express*.

Our friend Mark Johnson, Judge Crook, Printup senator from Floyd, Goldsmith of Express, Stiles and Spurlock professedly, are active and all seem to consider his election a foregone conclusion.

Iverson's last letter has done him good, however, as he runs on the same strong Southern position with Mr. Cobb, and we must leave no stone unturned, for it may be a tighter race than we imagine. I may write you again before I leave. Hard times here—no money—no crops—nothing and worse coming.

Sarah and children send love to Jno A and yourself.

---

<sup>1</sup> i.e., John Addison Cobb, son of Howell Cobb.

## HOWELL COBB TO JOHN B. LAMAR.

Washington City, Oct. 31, 1860.

Dear Col[onel] :

After spending a week in New York, I have returned here with the conviction that there is a chance, and only a chance, for the defeat of Lincoln in that state. The probabilities are all now in favor of Lincoln's election, and what then?

My opinion has undergone no change. I still think that submission on the part of the South to his election is certain and inevitable ruin; hence I am for resistance even to dissolution. In fact, the true remedy is to withdraw from the Union on the 4th. of March. As the government passes into the hands of the abolitionists, we should pass out. To secede whilst the government is in the hands of our friends would be wrong and unjustifiable, but to remain after the abolitionists take possession would be present degradation and future ruin. In reference to the Senatorial election in the event of Lincoln's election, I desire to write fully and freely to you. My election would be an endorsement of my position and thereby strengthen the cause of resistance throughout the South. The fact that both the black republicans and Douglas men have waged so bitter a warfare upon me personally would give a significance to my election that would be felt throughout the country. On the other hand my defeat would cause all black republicanism and Douglasism to resound with shouts of joy and gladness. This is the view in its bearings upon the public mind and its effect upon the issue, which we are to encounter.

*Personally*, whilst it would be extremely gratifying it does not offer such temptations as would induce me to enter upon a doubtful contest. I am determined upon one point, that I would not sit in the Senate as the representative of the humiliation of Georgia, if she submits to Lincoln's election. Therefore if a majority of the Legislature are in favor of submission they ought not to elect me, for I could not represent their principles. If on the other hand the majority are in favor of my views, they ought not to elect

any man who would be willing to occupy the seat in the Senate under Lincoln's administration. They ought to elect a man who will hold and use the commission as may be best to carry out the policy of resistance; and who when he can no longer use it for that purpose will return it to the State.

Entertaining these views you will see that I want my friends in Milledgeville to use my name (if Lincoln is elected) as a candidate for Senator, only in the contingency of 1st. that the majority of the Legislature agree with my views, and 2nd. that there is a reasonable certainty of my election. If, by chance, Lincoln is defeated, it would present the matter in a somewhat different light, though even in that contingency my anxiety to be Senator is not great enough to run the hazard of a defeat. To be defeated at this time would be a terrific blow. Of the chances, my friends must exercise their best judgement and I shall be perfectly content though they may be deceived. When I speak of leaving the matter in the hands of my friends, I speak of friends generally, but the decision must be made by *yourself, Tom, Judges Henry and James Jackson*. I know that I am putting a troublesome and unpleasant duty upon you, but with the assurance that I shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever you do, I hope you will not allow it to annoy you too much. . . . .

T. R. R. COBB TO HOWELL COBB.

Athens, Ga., Nov. 5, 1860.

Dear Brother:

. . . . I shall leave for Milledgeville on Saturday. I have given Deloney Barrow and Ed Lumpkin your views and position. They leave tomorrow and promise me to spend the three last days of this week in posting themselves so as to post me on my arrival. By that time we shall know the result of the election. If the opposition intend to concentrate on any candidate against you, or if I find that a respectable number of the party are opposing you, or if

I am convinced the race will be even *doubtful*, I shall not allow your name to go before the Legislature at all. I have so written to Jim and Henry Jackson so that we may act and speak in concert. I wrote to Toombs and to Thomas certainly to be in Milledgeville, but have received no reply. Should Lincoln be defeated I am very anxious for your election. But in the other and more probable event, I think with you a scramble for the place would demoralize your position. . . . .

O. H. PRINCE TO MRS. HOWELL COBB.

Connasena, Ga., Nov. 22, 1860.

My dear Mrs. Cobb:

I inadvertantly mentioned to Mr. Lamar on our return from Milledgeville that I would write to you on my return home; his feelings and opinions so thoroughly coincided with my own that he urged me to do so. I did so on the day after I got back, but my heart misgave me that I was unnecessarily troubling you and so I burned up the letter, very much to Sarah's annoyance, who desired me to send it. However, I will write you a very short one in lieu of the long one destroyed.

Nothing transpired at Milledgeville of importance about which you are not informed by the papers, and correspondents abler than me.

You are doubtless thoroughly posted regarding our State and Federal relations and I sincerely trust that Mr. Cobb is apprised of everything that he may be enabled to act in a way due to his State and himself.

There was *not one man* at Milledgeville who was not most grievously disappointed—I allude to secessionists—at Mr. Cobb's dispatch that he could not come. I never in my life heard so loud and unanimous a call for a man as there was for him at that time. Everyone felt the absolute necessity of his presence to unite conflicting elements and take the reins of leadership in his hands, for there was no one

else to do it. All is confusion even now among our friends while the submissionists are concentrating their strength and will give us a strong fight for the Convention.

Mr. Cobb has not a friend in Georgia who does not earnestly desire him to come home and canvass the State. The position of leader in Georgia, I believe throughout the South, is open to him and awaits him to come and take control. Also there is danger of the Federal and State Governments coming to issue and should they do so Mr. Cobb's position and influence might be injured at home. If Mr. Cobb would come and canvass the State we can carry it, if not, it is most doubtful. I dislike all this on Mr. Buchanan's account. I revere and venerate the man but we must look to ourselves or be sunk in infamy.

Pardon me for this letter. I have misgivings about sending it, the great weakness of my life is zeal for my friends, in plain English toadyism; but I have recently received a damper to my zeal and shall hereafter be more circumspect and not pertinaciously thrust my friendship where it is repudiated. It is altogether unnecessary for me to say I refer to none of yours. . . . .

Sarah and the children are in robust health, and send love. We are looking forward already with fond anticipation to your long visit in the Spring.

JNO. W. FORNEY TO HOWELL COBB.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 29, [1860.]

My dear Cobb:

. . . . . The news of your defeat came upon us all like a clap of thunder from a cloudless sky. I never saw a man more affected than the President. He was aghast, and I could not explain. Rest assured however it has helped instead of hurt[ing] you. It is one of those events in a lifetime that no matter how black they may look often pave the way to great and glorious results. There is a future, and there are higher places even than the Senate. . . . .

## T. ALLAN TO HOWELL COBB.

Milledgeville, Ga., Dec. 10, 1860.

Dear Sir:

I received your kind letter in due time and regretted to learn of your illness. I have carefully read the President's message, and have heard several who have read it, speak of it. Some of the most extreme speak rather harshly of it; but generally it is thought to be as liberal and generous toward the South as could be expected. I for one, can never forget the firmness and fidelity with which the noble old Roman during all his administration has sustained the rights of the South.

I apprehend that your resignation is now a foregone conclusion and that you will soon return to your native state and cast your fortunes with those of her people. With that understanding I have cooperated with my brother and Pruitt to try and have you elected a delegate to the State Convention, from Banks county. It being the most important Convention which has ever assembled in this State, it ought to be the desire of every true Georgian that we should have our ablest and best statesmen in that Convention.

Gov. Brown is out in a very important letter. It advocates secession and embraces an appeal to the poor men of the mountains well calculated to arouse them, and to fortify their minds against those appeals of demagogues which arouse the basest passions of the human heart and array the poor against the wealthy—the non-slave holder against the slave holder.

Simmons has made a split in Gwinnett, and the consequence is two tickets in the field for the Convention. It is thought that the regular ticket will prevail.

I expect to leave for Washington as soon as the session closes. I hope to see you before you leave Washington. I had a great desire to see and converse with you freely, as one of my best and long tried friends, concerning my own

future. I hope I may have that pleasure before the 4th of March.

JOHN B. LAMAR TO HOWELL COBB.

Macon, [Ga.,] Dec. 11, 1860.

Dear Gov[ernor]:

Enclosed I send check on Sav[annah] for \$1675.48. I would have sent it before but the banks have been shut down close, to try and make secession unpopular, but its no go—the prairie is on fire and I believe most people have become convinced that we mean to go out of the Union.

Tom spoke here last Friday night by invitation of the minute men, and such a speech I have never heard before. It was four hours long and nobody was tired, and at the close the audience were enthusiastic. It had a great effect on the opinions of every body.

We have a call for a county meeting on Friday signed by 250 names to select candidates for delegates to the Convention.

We shall have opposition, but the impulse is with us. I shall probably be one of the candidates.

Sara his up today and very well.

When will you be here.

J. B. GUTHRIE TO PHILIP CLAYTON.

Cincinnati, O., Dec. 27, 1860.

Dear Sir:

I parted with the Gov.<sup>1</sup> at Atlanta, where he made a speech. He told me to give his best regards to our friends in Washington, and to tell them that Georgia would certainly be out of the Union, *high and dry*, immediately after the assembling of the Convention. And I tell you after hearing [him] speak twice to the people there is no doubt of it. I never heard anything like his speeches. He stirs up the hearts of the people in a way I never saw it done be-

---

<sup>1</sup> Governor Cobb.



fore! and they show how they are affected by their cheers. My God, what a dangerous man he would be in a bad cause. I always liked him, but when I had to part with him, I found I loved him.

Before the Gov. arrived at Macon I wrote to Mr. Brown. I did not then think the secession party very largely in the majority, but it was apparent from the anxiety expressed by the people to see and hear Gov. Cobb that when he came there would be a change of sentiment.

When the Gov. concluded his Macon speech a Presbyterian minister jumped upon the stand, and taking him by the hand told him he had made a convert of him, and that from that time forward he would be a secessionist. I was standing along side and heard the remarks, the minister's name is, I think, Tolbert. There were few people in that Hall that did not wipe their eyes several times during the delivery of the Gov's speech. . . . .